

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 IO-13 USIE-00 ACDA-07 OMB-01  
EB-08 DOTE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SSO-00  
NSCE-00 INRE-00 /087 W  
-----118682 201323Z /41

O 201200Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1197  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE  
USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE  
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 12132

E. O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CH, UR  
SUBJECT: CROSS SIGNALS ON SINO-SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS

REFS: (A) MOSCOW 11735 NOTAL B. MOSCOW 11938

SUMMARY: WORKING LEVEL SOVIET MFA OFFICIALS  
ARE PESSIMISTIC ON PROSPECTS FOR A  
SIGNIFICANT NEAR TERM IMPROVEMENT IN SINO-SOVIET  
RELATIONS. SOVIET PESSIMISM CONTRASTS WITH A FEW  
CHINESE-ORIGIN STRAWS IN THE WIND ON PROSPECTS FOR  
IMPROVEMENT THAT WE HAVE PICKED UP HERE. MEANWHILE JAPANESE  
EMBASSY REPORTS RECENT INCIDENT ON SINKIAN BORDER.  
DEN SUMMARY.

1. JAPANESE FIRST SECRETARY BRIEFED EMBOFF ON  
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LENGTHY AUG 18 DISCUSSION WITH MFA FIRST FAR EAST  
DIVISION COUNSELOR KLYUKOV ON CURRENT STATE OF  
SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS.

2. KLYUKOV STRESSED THAT SOVIETS BELIEVE  
INSTABILITY IN THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP WILL  
CONTINUE AND THAT THIS RULES OUT POSSIBILITY FOR

SIGNIFICANT SHIFTS IN CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY, INCLUDING RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW. HE COMMENTED THAT THE SOVIETS ANTICIPATE A STRUGGLE FOR INFLUENCE BETWEEN HUA KUO-FENG AND TENG HSIAO-PING. KLYUKOV AGREED WITH THE DEFINITION OF TENG AS A "PRAGMATIST" BUT ADDED THAT TENG LACKS THE FLEXIBILITY WHICH CHOU EN-LAI ENJOYED, AND WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY IN CHANGING CHINA'S EXTERNAL POLICY.

3. KLYUKOV CHARGED THAT THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP CONTINUES ITS ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN WHILE STRENGTHENING ITS MILITARY POTENTIAL AS DID HITLER'S GERMANY IN THE 1930'S. HE REMARKED THAT "SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES" ARE ASSISTING CHINA TO STRENGTHEN ITS MILITARY CAPABILITIES, JUST AS A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES ASSISTED HITLER'S GERMANY PRIOR TO WWII.

4. BORDER TALKS-KLYUKOV SAID THAT THE SINO-SOVIET BORDER NEGOTIATIONS ARE CONTINUING. ILI'CHEV REMAINS IN MOSCOW (REF A) BUT THE DEPUTY HEAD OF THE SOVIET NEGOTIATING TEAM ROBANOV IS CONTINUING THE BORDER TALKS. (NOTE: CHINESE SECOND SECRETARY LI FENG-LIN WHOM JAPANESE EMBOFF QUERIED ON THIS POINT SAID THAT THE BORDER TALKS HAVE RECESSED AND THAT THE SOVIET NEGOTIATOR IS ON A CHINESE ORGANIZED "EX-CURSION" TRIP IN CHINA. END NOTE) KLYUKOV COMPARED  
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THE BORDER NEGOTIATIONS TO THE LENGTHY US-PRC WARSAW TALKS WHICH PERIODICALLY RECESSED BUT ALWAYS RECONVENED. THE CHINESE CLAIM THAT IN KOSYGIN'S 1969 MEETING WITH CHOU EN-LAI THE SOVIET PREMIER RECOGNIZED THE EXISTENCE OF "DISPUTED AREAS" ALONG THE BORDER. THE SOVIETS DENY THAT KOSYGIN ACKNOWLEDGED THIS. THEY INSIST THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS FOCUS ON THE DEFINITION OF THE BOUNDARY IN AREAS WHERE IT HAS NOT BEEN CLEARLY DEFINED BY TREATY. THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES ARE WIDELY SEPARATED, HE OBSERVED, BUT THE CHINESE HAVE NOT TERMINATED THE TALKS.

5. NAVIGATION TALKS: ACCORDING TO KLYUKOV, THE NAVIGATION TALKS ARE CONTINUING AT AI-HUI ON THE CHINESE SIDE OF THE AMUR. REGARDING CHINESE NAVIGATION AROUND HEI-HSIA-TZU ISLAND, OPPOSITE Khabarovsk, HE SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE CONSISTENTLY ALLOWED THE CHINESE TO USE THE NORTHERN ROUTE AROUND THE ISLAND WHEN THE KAZAKEVICHEVA CHANNEL HAS BEEN BLOCKED, AS LONG AS THE CHINESE FOLLOWED SOVIET INSTRUCTIONS IN OPERATING THEIR

CRAFT. HE EMPHASIZED THAT SUCH SOVIET ACQUIESCENCE  
HAS NOT BEEN PUT IN THE FORM OF AN AGREEMENT.  
THE SOVIETS ONLY INSIST THAT THE CHINESE RESPECT  
SOVIET REGULATIONS.

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6. SINO-SOVIET TRADE: KYUKOV SAID THAT THE  
SOVIET SIDE IS READY TO WIDEN THE VOLUME  
OF TRADE WITH CHINA, BUT DUE TO CHINESE POLITICAL  
INSTABILITY AND CHINESE SLUGGISHNESS IN FORMULATING  
THEIR NEXT FIVE YEAR PLAN, THE PROSPECTS FOR GROWTH  
ARE POOR.

7. LYUKOV'S NEGATIVE OUTLOOK FOR AN IMPROVEMENT  
IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS WAS SECONDED BY DEPUTY  
CHIEF OF THE SOUTH ASIA DEPT., MFA, KIRNASOVSKIY,  
IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION ON AUGUST 17.  
KIRNASOVSKIY TOLD AN EMBOFF THAT THE COMPOSITION OF  
THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP HAS OCCASIONALLY UNDERGONE  
SIGNIFICANT CHANGE (HE COMPARED LIN PIAO'S STATUS  
AT THE EIGHT PARTY CONGRESS AND THEN AT THE NINE  
AND TENTH PARTY CONGRESSES), BUT THEN COMMENTED THAT  
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THERE HAVE BEEN "NO SUBSTANTIVE OR NOTICEABLE CHANGES" IN CHINESE POLICY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION RECENTLY.

8. IN CONTRAST TO THESE GENERALLY NEGATIVE APPRAISALS OF CURRENT SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS WE HAVE PICKED UP A FEW CHINESE-ORIGIN STRAWS IN THE WIND HERE CONCERNING PROSPECTS FOR A POSITIVE CHANGE IN STATE TO STATE RELATIONS. IN AUGUST 17 CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, VISITING AUSTRALIAN DCM FROM PEKING, RICHARD LITTLE, STATED THAT A MEMBER OF THE NPC STANDING COMMITTEE, TAN CHEN-LIN, RECENTLY TOLD FORMER AUSTRALIAN PM VISITING CHINA AND A JAPANESE BUSINESS DELEGATION THAT SINO-SOVIET STATE TO STATE RELATIONS WILL IMPROVE. MOREOVER, ACCORDING TO LITTLE, THE HEAD OF THE STAFF OF THE CHINESE TRAIN THAT BROUGHT HIM TO MOSCOW ASKED TO TALK ABOUT POLITICS JUST BEFORE THE TRAIN REACHED MOSCOW. STAFFER SAID THAT THERE WILL BE AN IMPROVEMENT IN SINO-SOVIET STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS. SINCE CHINESE TRAIN STAFFS PARTICIPATE IN INDOCTRINATION SESSIONS BEFORE EACH TRIP TO THE USSR, LITTLE SUSPECTS HIS CHINESE INFORMANT MAY HAVE BEEN BRIEFED. LITTLE THOUGHT THAT THE CHINESE MAY BE DROPPING THESE HINTS WITH A VIEW TO INFLUENCING THE US ON THE EVE OF SECRETARY VANCE'S VISIT TO PEKING.

9. COMMENT. LITTLE'S SPECULATION IS INTERESTING AND LEADS US TO SPECULATE THAT FOR SIMILAR REASONS THE SOVIETS WOULD HAVE AN INTEREST IN COUNTERING SUCH CHINESE HINTS. END COMMENT

10. MEANWHILE JAPANESE DCM INFORMED POL COUNSELOR AUGUST 19 THAT RETURNING FROM RECENT TRIP TO SINKIANG  
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JAPANESE PROFESSOR ROYAMA TOLD JAPANESE NEWSMEN IN PEKING THAT THERE HAD BEEN AN INCIDENT ON SINKIANG-TADZHIKISTAN BORDER. CHINESE TOLD ROYAMA THAT, ENCOUNTERING GROUP OF SOVIET "SPIES," THEY HAD KILLED ONE, CAPTURED FOUR AND WOUNDED OTHERS.  
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## Message Attributes

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